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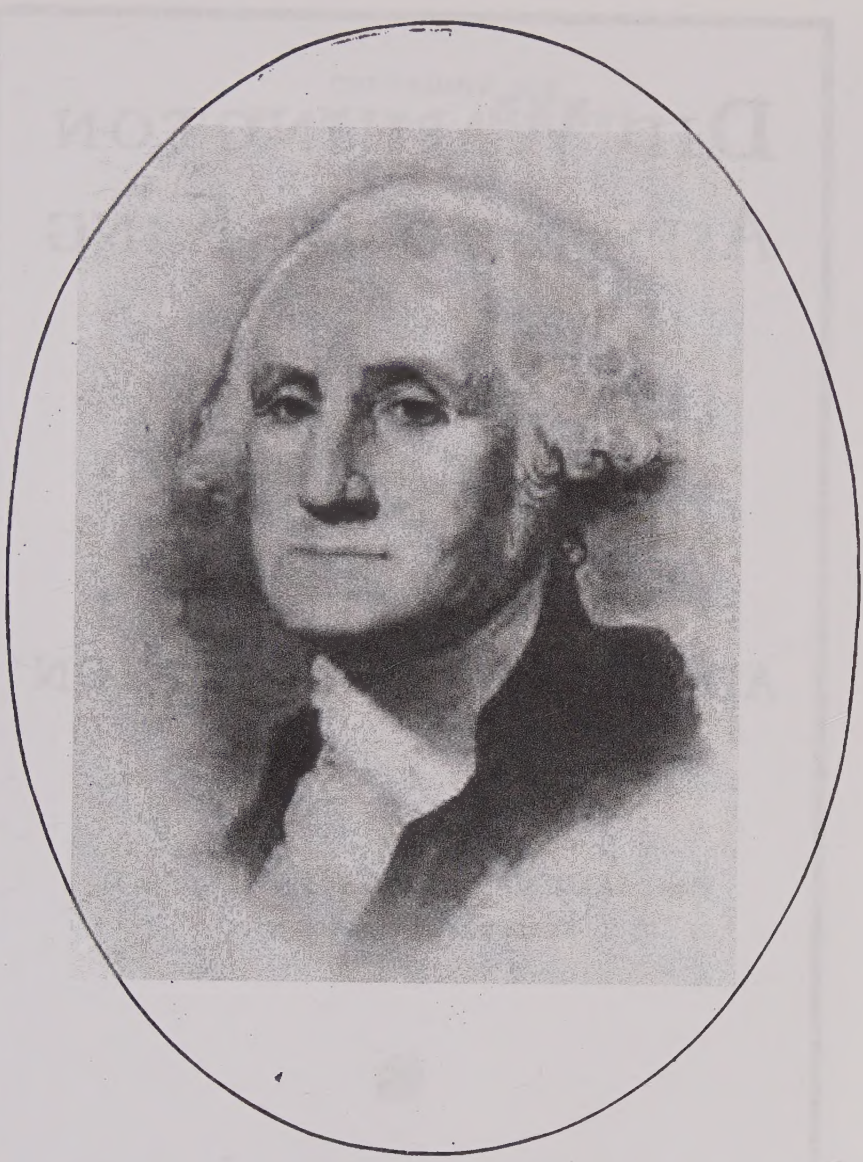


GEORGE WASHINGTON

To Thomas Sawyer Spivey, Esq.
of Washington, D. C.

That fearless exponent of the truth of things, who has never faltered to promote the truth whether it met with public approval or awakened wrath; who, by his writings, liberality, and courteous assistance and encouragement has enabled the author to pursue the early determinations of his mind to give this book to the truth-seeking public, this work is respectfully dedicated by

The Author.

PREFACE

During the early part of 1905 there appeared in the columns of *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin,* in that section of the publication conducted by Mr. Perrine, the editor-in-chief, the following articles referring directly and indirectly to my attitude toward the first President of this Republic:

Mr. Evan T. Ellis submits the following observations:

"There is a large book—size of a family Bible—just published. It is called 'Bohemia,' and is the official publication of the International League of Press Clubs for the building and endowment of the Journalists' Home, of which only 500 copies are issued, and No. 125 is especially, so it says, printed for the Philadelphia Bourse, where I saw it.

"There are some 300 odd contributors from all sorts of people. Journalists, statesmen and actors predominate, and there may be a thousand or so illustrations, mostly portraits. Altogether one of the most interesting and amusing

pieces of literature of recent times and from the very limited edition I suppose will only be found in libraries.

"On page 398 is 'The Passing of William M. Singerly,' signed simply A. T. A., and is, I believe, the only (to me) anonymous writer of the 300 odd in the book.

"The article is highly eulogistic and much in the main as all of us would cheerfully endorse. After reciting a number of instances of ingratitude to well-known historical characters followed by a revulsion to the opposite extreme generally after the death of the individual, commencing with Christ, who, he says, was stoned by the populace one day and the next they strewed his pathway with flowers and their rich vestments on his triumphant ride into Jerusalem, he says of Coriolanus that he saved Rome and was voted a public enemy, and so on down to Dewey, whom we screamed ourselves hoarse at over Manila and hooted when he asked for the nomination of the President at home. He takes up Aaron Burr thus: 'Burr, the patriot, who had stemmed the tide of British victory and risked his life at Quebec, died alone in the world and misjudged by his contemporaries, and discredited by history.' But unfortunately there are these lines that should never have been printed, and I do not believe the editor of the book ever noticed it. It is:

"'Not even Washington (who hated him (Burr), because Burr had opposed his secret ambition to become King of America) loved his country more.'

"Now, I believe it is a fact that at one time during the nation's struggle for independence there was such an idea among some of the young subordinate officers in Washington's army—but it reached the commander's ear, and we are told that he gave them such a rebuke and warning that they never attempted the thing again. I wish I had the words he spoke; as I recall from history, they were those of a man deeply grieved and hurt."

Mr. Arthur T. Abernethy submits the following statement:

"Dear Penn: My attention has been called to the communication of last Saturday in which Mr. Evan T. Ellis offers some observations relative to 'Bohemia,' the publication of the International League of Press Clubs, and an article signed 'A. T. A.' on 'The Passing of William M. Singerly,' in which allusion is made to the historical allegation that Washington at one time aspired to be king of the United States.

"Seven years ago, harassed by conflicting statements appearing everywhere in Washington's biographies, I began a candid and exhaustive research into the conduct of General Washington, and for the past seven years I have continued these personal investigations as conscientiously as possible to a man of my means. After having read every work bearing on the subject which I have been able to obtain in the libraries of Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Washington, New York and points of less importance where excellent mem-

oranda of those early days have been preserved, and after personal visits to the old haunts of General Washington throughout Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and, in fact, among his family relatives wherever found, I have reached a conclusion which I believe to be the one which must ultimately be that of every conscientious student of history who is unswerved by personal enthusiasm and unbiased by preconceived notions of prejudice—that General George Washington's one prevailing hope was that his country, relieved of the oppressive conditions heaped upon it by England's incapable management of the colonial affairs, would organize an independent regality over which, as the leader of the nation's hosts, he should be the logical choice for king. The arguments supporting this view are too numerous for a brief communication to a daily publication, and I have embodied as many of them as were personally discovered as a result of my researches in a book which I shall publish within the next few months. This manuscript has been submitted to the leading recognized authorities on Washingtoniana in a conscientious desire that if they knew anything historically refuting the statements made therein they would submit them so as to assist the writer in arriving at the truth. The leading magazines have flatly refused their columns to the author of this pamphlet, not with the usual 'returned with thanks,' but with the astounding suggestion that 'if the facts be true they would rather suppress than make them public, because anything which

tends to destroy patriotism without giving a commensurate return is equivalent to the destruction of religion itself.' To me it is a pathetic thing that within so near a date of the life of Washington we should find ourselves unwilling to tell or even to know the truth about him; that we should delegate to him a monopoly of patriotism, and utterly and ignorantly close our eyes to the services of Hamilton, Jefferson, Randolph, and, as a matter of fact, the majority of his contemporaries who served him for his skilful political ability to hold the people together in an hour of crisis, but who recognized in his individual enterprises tendencies to monarchy which were far from agreeable. But we must not forget that republics were not familiar forms of government in those early days—the colonists had been taught for years to revere the institutions under which they were born—and were doubtless as patriotic in their way as we are in our own. Washington knew this, and he knew, too, when he 'declined' the kingdom (offered him in an anonymous communication and by a few military adventurers who were without authority) that he was the elected head of the Army, and that the recognition of any mutiny—even for his own promotion—in that moment of the Army's discontent, would have been disastrous to his oath of office, his personal standing; and since much of the military discontent was leveled against Washington himself (which should be well considered) there was by no means any assurance of the permanent or even partial success of his individual aspirations to be King.

"Let me remind your correspondent that this letter (the words of which your correspondent endeavors to quote as a refutation of my references) to Washington (which he received in 1782) did not contain any proffer of a title to Washington, as, indeed, there could not have been, since the suggestion came without official authority behind it; and Washington's reply, far from being a bold avowal of his refusal, was more a denial of the inferences that he had seemed remiss in the defense of the rights of the soldiers; that it was a shrewd political side-step from a suggestion which would have only served to widen the breach between Washington and the Republicans, and Washington knew that the only power behind the suggestion was one of bloodshed, in which he did not care to engage in the satisfaction of his ambition. It must be calmly recognized, too, that at the time this proposition was made the government of the United States was not yet permanently organized, and Washington was the head of the Army, in which he was in honor bound to maintain the loyalty of discipline; any outburst would have been directly chargeable to the Army's head—especially one favorable to the commanding general.

"I send these lines as a partial defense of my utterances concerning Burr and Washington in the article criticised by Mr. Ellis in your column, and trust that in the consideration of any historic fact we may ever be led to agree with Cicero: 'It is the first and fundamental law of history that it should neither dare to say anything that is false,

nor fear to say anything that is true, nor give any just suspicion of favor or disaffection.'

"A. T. A."

Professor Brandt, of the High School, has made a comparison of the Roosevelt inaugural ceremonies to the second inauguration of Washington as President, which took place in this city, and refers to the pageantry of the one as compared with the simplicity of the other. Yet at the time when Washington was inducted into office there were observers who thought that his manner of exercising public function was royalistic or aristocratic and criticised it as such. It is to be borne in mind, too, that the government, as an institution, was a feeble affair, that it had existed here for only three years, that there was hardly more than the semblance of a national military power, that there was not even a Navy Department and that consequently it would have been difficult to organize a Federal display on the occasion. It is also to be borne in mind, however, that at the President's birthday, ten days previous, there had been a parade of militia, an artillery salute, a reception at his house, the ringing of bells, and a ball at the chief hotel of the city. But when the inauguration day came, although Washington lived only two or three minutes' walk distant from the hall of Congress, at Sixth and Chestnut streets, he went thither in a state coach and six, his person attired in rich and elegant costume, and his presence announced by attendants or ushers with rods. These and

similar acts were regarded by his political critics as undemocratic. Thus Jefferson, in a letter to Madison three months after Washington's second inauguration, said:

"I remember an observation of yours made when I first went to New York, that the satellites and sycophants that surrounded him (Washington) had wound up the ceremonials of the government to a pitch of stateliness which nothing but his personal character could have supported, and which no character after him could ever maintain. It appears now that even his will be insufficient to justify them in the effect of the times to common sense as the arbiter of everything. Naked, he would have been sanctimoniously reverenced; but enveloped in the rags of royalty, they can be hardly torn off without laceration."

In connection with Mr. Abernethy's remarks on the story of Washington and the crown, the opinion which Jefferson expressed in his Anas is worthy of consideration:

"The alliance," he said, "between the States under the old Articles of Confederation for the purpose of joint defense against the aggressions of Great Britain, was found insufficient, as treaties of alliance generally are, to enforce compliance with their mutual stipulation; and these, once fulfilled, that bond was to expire of itself, and each State to become sovereign and independent in all things. Yet it could not but occur to every one,

that these separate independencies, like the petty States of Greece, would be eternally at war with each other, and would become at length the mere partisans and satellites of the leading powers of Europe. All of them must have looked to some further bond of union which would insure internal peace, and a political system of our own, independent of that of Europe. Whether all should be consolidated into a single government, or each remain independent as to internal matters, and the whole form a single nation as to what was foreign only, and whether that national government should be a monarchy or a republic, would of course divide opinions according to the constitutions, the habits, and the circumstances of each individual. Some officer of the Army, as it has always been said and believed (and Steuben and Knox have ever been named as their leading agents), trained to monarchy by military habits, are understood to have proposed to General Washington to decide this great question by the Army before its disbandment, and to assume himself the crown, on the assurance of their support. The indignation with which he is said to have scouted this parricide proposition was equally worthy of his virtue and his wisdom."

As to the use of the name Republican in describing Jefferson's followers, or the party of which he was the chief founder, now the Democratic party, a correspondent states his impression that there was no such name as Republican given to the party which elected Jefferson to the

Presidency. But the fact is that the name Democratic or Democrat was not applied to it generally or distinctively until a number of years after Jefferson had retired from the Presidency. During his active political career the organization was known as Republican in its early stages and also Democratic-Republican. The title was intended to distinguish the party from its opponents, the Federalists, whom Jefferson condemned as monarchical. It was employed time and again by him in his correspondence, was common to the political literature of the period, and was adopted by all the leaders of the party. In addition the societies, clubs and conventions which were in sympathy with the Jefferson doctrines were designated either "Republican" or "Democratic-Republican."

In addition to these articles there were numerous less important references in the *Bulletin* and elsewhere, and the publication of these comments brought me such a flood of personal criticism from zealous devotees of the first President that, but for a full confidence in the ultimate judgment of the American student of history, I should have abandoned all intention of publishing this booklet. While none of these printed or privately written communications brought out any new material calculated to disprove my personal contention as to the attitude assumed by General Wash-

ington, they did have the effect of convincing me that my position was thoroughly misunderstood, and that the impression had become current that my purpose was to defame the illustrious Washington and to dethrone him from his exalted position in the minds of the young people of America.

A very distinguished jurist whose father had been at one time the honored Prime Minister of a European power did me the honor to visit me personally, to urge upon me, although himself a foreign-born citizen of this republic, the irreparable injury to hero-worship my attitude toward General Washington would produce. Distinguished members of patriotic Revolutionary War societies wrote me, enclosing clippings taken bodily from rare old works, in a friendly and, I believe, conscientious effort to disabuse my mind of its deep-seated convictions. While immensely flattered by these considerate attentions, the fact remains that nothing has yet been produced to disprove the statements which have been made by the writer both herein and elsewhere, relative to General Washington's political desires.

That the writer ever meant to underestimate the magnificence of the part played by the illustrious Washington in the construction of

this republic is entirely disproved by a perusal of the pages of this work. To the contrary, it must ever remain a silent yet forceful tribute to him that he forsook the earlier purposes to which his mental inclination and political aspirations drew him, and "found the private in the public good." What I have maintained, still maintain, and believe should be the duty of all history, is that history must be divorced from hero-worship, and the actual conditions made bare for the student who would know them as they were. It were infinitely more to the credit of General Washington that, with a consuming desire to wear a crown, he should have yielded to the popular clamor and assumed less pretentious yet more arduous duties, as he did.

The writer may be permitted to add, it is his honest opinion that General Washington, in desiring that America should have become an empire with a king, was far more wise in his day and to his duty than his compeers. The benefits to literature, arts, and the sciences which are vouchsafed under such an administration of national affairs as were those of Elizabeth of England and Louis XIV of France but minimumly demonstrate the advantages of a monarchic form of government over a republican form. It is not the purpose of the

writer to enter into an extended defense of monarchy, since every student of political science may see by comparisons which he may make for himself. It seems to be invariable that in controversies respecting the relative merits of republican forms of government and monarchic, one usually contrasts an ideal republic with an actual monarchy. The gregarious homo begins his career by forming a free republic, until the fiercest savage is either elected a chief, or he swings himself into that power, thus establishing a monarchy, a dynasty, which in turn grows into tyranny. Then, tyranny produces revolution, the people return to anarchy, and then to republicanism again. Thus, in the discontents of human existence, there is a constant and invariable rotation from one mode of government to another mode. I have always maintained (and in this contention have had the co-operating views of such students of government as Montesquieu) that one of the most conservative influences of monarchy is to be found in its service in the proper restriction of ecclesiastical power.

Another feature of the life of Washington which has aroused adverse comment whenever dwelt upon by one less inclined to the hysteria of hero-worship, but who loves the truth, has

been that relative to his affairs of the heart. Criticisms have been made against the writer's references on one occasion to a current belief that General Washington's death resulted from an injury inflicted by an irate tenant on his estate who objected to the General's attentions to his comely spouse. It would be difficult, and cruel to attempt, to confirm such allegations. There seems a widespread opinion to this effect. It is generally known that the "Father of His Country" was popular with women, and enjoyed their promiscuous company. But if such were the case, it is no reflection either on the moral courage or the patriotic principles of General Washington. Besides, it must be admitted that this has ever been the relaxation of soldiery. Heroism has seemed to find its recreation in the society of the gentler sex, and the men who have maintained the country's honor have not infrequently found it necessary to look well to the protection of their own. Napoleon not only wedded a woman of questionable character, but was often accused of intrigues with ladies of his courts. General David had his Uriah; Andrew Jackson his pretty actress friend; Cæsar had his holidays with Cleopatra, and there were whisperings of his attentions to the mother of Brutus; while

the roll-call of the military chieftains of ancient, medieval, and modern history would evoke no end of more or less well authenticated romantic rumors. There was never a greater naval victory than that of Admiral Schley, diminished though its glories were by the divisionary discussions between the zealous adherents of the two ranking officers into whose hands the command of the Santiago campaign had been placed. But the Admiral is no less a philosopher than sailor. One is forced to recognize the volume of common sense in his comments, made to the ladies who requested permission to board his flagship on its return from the memorable victory: "By all means let the ladies come aboard. I have always felt that our arms are the ladies' defense and their arms our recompense."

The rich blood that fires the furnaces of the martial soul, also kindles the glow on the altar of the heart. To dare is to be loved; to be loved is to find aroused a like passion for either the inciting or some other cause.

Pope said:

> "Love seldom haunts the heart where learning lies,
> And Venus sets ere Mercury can rise,"

but he purposely avoided any such execution of the poetic license against the fiery Mars.

This peculiarly indescribable inclination of the world's heroic souls has not confined itself to the soldiers of sword and buckler, sail and seaweed. Milton, blinded to physical things, saw his affinity even without the pale of his own *cubiculum et thorum;* broad-browed Martin Luther could not resist the gentle priestess' call; John Wesley had no *method* that succeeded in holding his own heart in proper pasture; and the military spirit will ever dominate the mastery men.

When the maidens of ancient days sang of the victories of David and of Saul and cast invidious comparisons upon the self-created style of the elder's warfare, they were but breathing the spirit of the air which permeates every region, every realm, and every soul of man.

In fact, it is to this deferential spirit of chivalry that we owe our custom of lifting our hats to the ladies.

In the days of knight-errantry, heroes were full-armored in the presence of friend or foe. Once in the company of women, the knight lifted his ponderous helmet, exposing his head to manifest his confidence that he was safe in their company.

DID WASHINGTON ASPIRE TO BE KING

"Self-love forsook the path it first pursued,
And found the private in the public good.
For forms of government let fools contest;
Whate'er is best administered is best:
For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight;
He can't be wrong whose life is in the right;
In faith and hope the world will disagree,
But all mankind's concern is charity;
All must be false that thwarts this one great end,
And all of God that bless mankind or mend."

In these days of peaceful Presidential elections, it is difficult to contemplate an almost riotous condition in the political existence of our beloved country when it was the will of those highest in authority that America, freest of republics, should have a ruler king. That there are many wise and cultured gentlemen, born in this glorious country where every man, woman, and child is vouchsafed the ease of liberty which any prince might crave, who even to-day believe American institutions and humanities would be best conserved under a

hereditary titled administration of the executive functions, cannot be denied. It is the province of liberty that individual opinions may not be "embargoed," and America is freest of them all.

The effort of this paper is, then, not to question the right or propriety of such opinion, but to establish the historical fact. That General Washington was a brave and valiant officer, that despite his unpopularity in the second-hand exploitation of his heart's desire to see his country installed under the British Constitution, the sturdy makers of our republic recognized in Washington those stern and autocratic ideas of administration which were essential to the early security of the common country, is best established beyond doubt by the unanimity with which he was selected to guide the people in every crisis. The bare fact remains that, stripped of the deification to which we subject all our brave military heroes, General Washington was a princely, aristocratic, often overbearing, good executive, an autocratic President, conscious of his unique place in the galaxy of history-makers, and a man to whom the flounces and fol-de-rol of the regal court-room were quite innocently alluring; it must be eventually taught our children in the schools, and made a part of the truthful history of our

republic. We have no right to disillusion the coming generations in minor facts while we deceive them in important individual incidents.

It is no reflection that Washington entertained views of royalty; he is more to be commended in that, having himself fondled the ambition to be our king, he should have gracefully yielded to the dominant will of the majority. There have been Presidents who did not so. Marcus Tullius Cicero, the Roman, stepped from the platform of eloquent oration to the broader one of philosopher when he said: "It is the first and fundamental law of history that it should neither dare to say anything that is false, nor fear to say anything that is true, nor give any just suspicion of favor or disaffection."

I know there are enthusiasts, men of brilliant minds who lived either in the time of, or immediately following, the era of General Washington's administration, who flare out the open denial with volumes of words. These will be considered, in their turn, in this paper.

It seemed the invariable custom of Washington, when writing of the early organization of the country, to speak of it as "the empire." In his correspondence with Marquis Lafayette, he particularly emphasized this definition of a

then unorganized republic when he said, "However unimportant America may be considered at present, * * * there will assuredly come a day when this country will have some weight in the scale of *empires.*" When, even after his election to the Presidency, Washington was led, like Cæsar, through the Roman triumphal arch built over Gray's bridge and especially designed for him by the loyal citizens of Philadelphia, a civic crown was mechanically let down on his brow, Washington, the aristocrat, did not, like Cæsar, thrust the crown away, and thus seize the most opportune moment of his history to avow his deference to republicanism. When it is remembered that he had been sorely criticised already for his leaning toward monarchy, this incident is more significant. It was openly charged against Washington that the inauguration of the "Reception Hour" (which was merely an American introduction of the custom of European royalty to receive their subjects) was another of Washington's efforts at the assumption of royalty. Dr. Stuart, one of his most loyal friends, called his attention to this criticism, and North Carolina and Virginia took notice of these "trespasses on royalty's ways" and commented freely on the regal entertainments of Mr. and Mrs. Washington. The

weak apologists of history, who have openly belied the fortitude and patriotic impulses which induced Aaron Burr, have never given us a clear historical understanding as to why Washington failed to yield to Burr the frequently merited and often promised military recognition, and have seen nothing in the factional friendship between Washington and Hamilton save a "full confidence in his Secretary of the Treasury." They forget to tell us that Alexander Hamilton had long secretly entertained aristocratic and autocratic notions of government,—well, similar to regality, if not in name,—and that these views were as sweet morsels to Washington. Even so loyal an apologist for Washington as John Marshall, who owed much to the friendship of the first President (and who afterward held the important office of Chief Justice), in his able work on the life of Washington, "compiled," as he tells us, "under the inspection of the Honorable Bushrod Washington" (and hence, certainly authentic), is betrayed into using this candid language concerning Hamilton's attitude: "Hamilton is understood to have avowed opinions in the convention *favorable to a system in which the Executive and Senate,* though elective, *were to be rather more permanent than*

they were rendered in that which was actually proposed." Views doubtless announced through Hamilton as the mouthpiece of the commander-in-chief, since Hamilton held his commission under Washington and was his aide-de-camp. As a matter of fact, Hamilton actually offered an amendment to the Constitution, making the "tenure of office of the President (and Senate) *during life.*"

It takes no sweep of the logical mind to recognize that these views, which were objectionable to Aaron Burr, who had seen much of the sufferings of the military at the hands of the indifferent government, aroused his open hostility. I have found it difficult to banish from my mind the strong impression that Burr may have written the letters which were circulated among the soldiers, and which determined the actions of the officers in demanding the soldiers' rights. The bare fact that Burr's brilliant and most painstaking enemies failed—with the help of the entire government—to convict him of the charge of treason preferred against him, is evidence enough to prove the shallowness in the charges. If one needed further *corpus delicti* to the suggestion of a patient hope on the part of Washington, Adams, Hamilton, etc., for a monarchical form of gov-

ernment in the United States, the *Alien* and *Sedition* acts, fathered by Adams when he had "come into his kingdom," and delegating powers which were, indeed, potential and princely, furnished them. Of course Washington was not responsible for the enactment of these laws,—at least history gives no open evidence of any suggestion on the part of Washington to Adams to rid himself of annoyances to which Washington's administration was subjected, by legislative restriction,—they served to show the outbreak of the fever that long boiled in the Federalist blood. Adams's proposition that a "balance in government" was essential to liberty and the inference that it "could be maintained only by hereditary classes" was set forth in a semi-official tract while holding office as Vice-President, with Washington, and this fact must not be overlooked in a dispassionate consideration of the secret views of Washington. If further proof be needed, it would seem suggested in the celebrated newspaper duel between Washington's Secretary of the Treasury and his Secretary of State, in regard to the tax on domestic spirits, so skilfully opposed as an excise. Were there not open and uncontrovertible charges made by Mr. Jefferson's clerk, in his paper, *The National Gazette?* What of the

charge made on the floors of Congress, at that time, that Washington (and Hamilton) were actually "designing to subvert the republican institutions of America"? It required riots in Pittsburg and other parts of America to enlighten the first President as to the status his position occupied before he receded sufficiently from his views to produce an abatement of odium.

On the 22d of February, 1790, it being the birthday of President Washington, a motion to adjourn for thirty minutes was only carried by an aye and no vote of forty-one to eighteen. The treatment accorded Washington was characterized by the *National Gazette* as "setting up an idol who might become dangerous to liberty," and as "ascribing to Washington the military praise which was due to others." It is a remarkable fact that Washington failed to discharge from the Department of State the official holding place *under his appointment* who thus boldly described the incident. The fact cannot be lightly passed over that Monsieur Genet, the French Minister to the United States, in the face of Washington's seeming popularity with the masses, repeatedly bantered, bulldozed, and challenged Washington, using terms so far out of the rules of diplomacy as to astound us

to-day, describing Washington as a "partisan of monarchy." Notwithstanding this unusual asperity of language and continued defiance from the representative of a foreign power, M. Genet's public speeches in New York, Charleston, and elsewhere were received with ovations, and his threat to Washington to "appeal to the people against his partisanship to monarchies" loudly cheered. Marshall, while defending Washington, uses this remarkable language: "Writers of considerable political eminence charged them (Washington's Cabinet associates and Washington) as being members of a powerful faction who were desirous of separating America from France, and connecting her with England for the purpose of introducing the British Constitution."

And right here let me interject some information which will serve to disillusion the public as to the general view of Washington as President, and of Washington's co-office holders. Speaking of the corruption of the government in the years of Washington's administration, Senator George F. Hoar, on August 9th, 1876, in the House of Representatives, of which he was then a member, said: "One of the most famous generals of the Revolutionary War, whose life extended down to the period to

which I have alluded, while he was Quartermaster-General, was in partnership with a firm for the purpose of selling quartermaster's stores to the government and making a profit. The Attorney-General, and Secretary of State, Washington's friend, while he was Secretary of State, was detected in receiving money from France as a bribe to thwart the foreign policy of the administration of which he was a member. Another Cabinet officer of Washington, Hamilton, being charged with a corrupt official relation with a citizen, defended himself by acknowledging to his countrymen, over his own signature, a profligate relation to the wife of the person named. Still another Cabinet officer of Washington wrote a letter which is in existence in my own State, in which he admitted to his correspondent an act of personal dishonor compared to which the crime charged upon Belknap is as the act of an archangel. Washington concealed the act of his Secretary of State from his countrymen, and accepted his resignation."

Fisher Ames, a member of Congress from Boston, under Washington, and afterward president of Harvard University, in speaking of Washington's times, said: "Our country is too sordid for patriotism. Its vice will govern

it by practicing upon its folly." Then, to show the spirit which prevailed in his own mind and the feeling of the administration of which he was a part, Ames added: "Our country is too democratic for liberty. To be ruled by folly is ordained for democracies." It was openly declared on and off the floors of Congress that the administration and associates of Washington "were an aristocratic and corrupt faction, who, *from a desire to introduce monarchy,* were hostile to France, under the influence of Britain; that they were a paper nobility," etc.

Jefferson, in 1797, in deploring the monarchical attitude of Washington, said: "I have always hoped that the popularity of the late President *being once withdrawn from active effect, the natural feelings of the people towards liberty* would restore the equilibrium between the executive and legislative departments." And in 1796, the year previous, Jefferson, who had always appreciated Washington's patriotism and bravery, and who had enjoyed Washington's fullest confidence notwithstanding his political opposition, had written: "In place of that republican government which carried us triumphantly through the war, an Anglican *monarchical* and aristocratical party has sprung

up *whose avowed object is to draw over us the substance,* as it has already done the forms, *of the British government. Against us are the Executive,"* etc. "It would give you a fever,' he added, "were I to name to you the apostates who have gone over to these heresies, men who were Samsons in the field and Solomons in counsel, but who have had their heads shorn by the harlot England. In short, we are likely to preserve the liberty we have obtained, only by unremitting labors and perils." Again we find this same republican leader, Jefferson, declaring emphatically: "That the government has fallen into the hands of an English party who are the more closely attached to their favorite nation, because they are unfriendly to republicanism, and seek to assimilate the Government of the United States to that of England."

Judge Marshall, who was shocked at Jefferson's bold reference to the Executive, said: "The term 'Executive' can describe only the then actual President. Consequently, it designates General Washington as expressly as if he had been named."

Hamilton, himself a most avowed monarchist, and the official mouthpiece of the President, shuddered under the brilliant criticisms of

Jefferson, and said: "The Chief Magistrate, himself, cannot hope entirely to escape from these statements."

I presume no man acquainted with our earlier political history will question the fact that Hamilton was the recognized mouthpiece of the Washington administration, and that Hamilton's views were always monarchical. The hope of actually convincing, by *verbal evidence* from Washington, that he espoused monarchy is futile; Presidents do not, especially those of royal tendencies, make practice of miscellaneous comment or injudicious public speech. But there has been a recognized official representative of every Executive who has directly voiced his views. Pickering even made the statement that Hamilton composed, wrote, and *furnished* the ideas for Washington's letters. Jefferson called the administration "Hamilton's administration," and referred to the government employees of Washington as "Hamilton's clerks."

As further proof of Hamilton's thorough mastery of Washington,—of his moulding of Washington's public expressions and opinions, and of Washington's agreement to Hamilton's ideas,—thus making Hamilton the official mouthpiece, Ford says: "Washington submitted not only his plans, but his ideas to

Hamilton. Hamilton even wrote his Farewell Address. Pickering says: 'I have reason to believe that not only the *composition,* the *clothing of the ideas,* but *the ideas themselves* originated generally with Hamilton and Harrison,' " etc.

Washington wrote of Hamilton as "my boy," and while Hamilton often grew impulsive and ridiculed and even railed at Washington, the intimacy of their association was most pronounced.

Washington's apologists have always based their defense against the charge of monarchical tendencies in Washington on a letter written by him to a prominent official of the Continental army, in 1782, and in reply to one urging upon Washington the ripeness of the opportunity to take advantage of the general discontent of the army; and the letter ended with a reference to the benefits of a kingdom.

There was absolutely no proffer of the title to Washington, as indeed there could not have been, since the suggestion came without official authority behind it. Washington's reply, far from being a bold avowal of his refusal, was more a denial of the inference that he had seemed remiss in the defense of the rights of the soldiers; it was a shrewd political sidestep from

a suggestion which would have only served to widen the breach between Washington and the Republicans, and Washington knew that the only power behind the suggestion was one of bloodshed, which he did not care to engage in the satisfaction of his ambition. It must be calmly recognized, too, that at the time the government was not yet permanently organized, and Washington was the head of the army, in which position he was in honor bound to maintain the loyalty of discipline, and any outbreak or the mutiny which threatened would have been directly charged to the man who had held the army in his hand. We must not forget, too, that Washington knew too well the prejudice of Congress and the people at the time, and Washington was ever a skilful politician. Hamilton certainly would never have so strenuously hoped for a monarchy while in the direct confidence of Washington, without tacit or patent encouragement. Of Hamilton it was openly declared, he was "the advocate of aristocracy, monarchy, hereditary succession, a titled order of nobility, and all the other mock pageantry of kingly government."

That the American public had formed the opinion, from his conduct of the "Cincinnati," that General Washington desired to include in

the economic affairs of this country hereditary political principles is not to be questioned. So early as October, 1783, Mr. Burk, of South Carolina, published a pamphlet against Washington's foundation of a hereditary order, and, despite the fact that feeble apologists have endeavored to discredit Burk's exposure as an attempt to arouse public sentiment, the matter was deemed of sufficient importance to evoke from the Massachusetts legislature active expression, and, to quote Washington's best friend, "it is well understood that in Congress the society was viewed with secret disapprobation." Suspicions of this character do not grow up unaided by some evidence of fact; the people who revere a brave hero are not quick, without sufficient cause, to see in him qualities which are so objectionable to the principles they have, with him, held dear. The real Washington was rather tolerated than loved. He was war-mad—a pioneer Roosevelt, who suited his times admirably because he made military prowess superior to technical form of government; and as that was, in the providence of God, essential to the establishment of a permanent *independent* government (whether monarchy or republic), men who thought only of the "lesser evil" retained Washington, know-

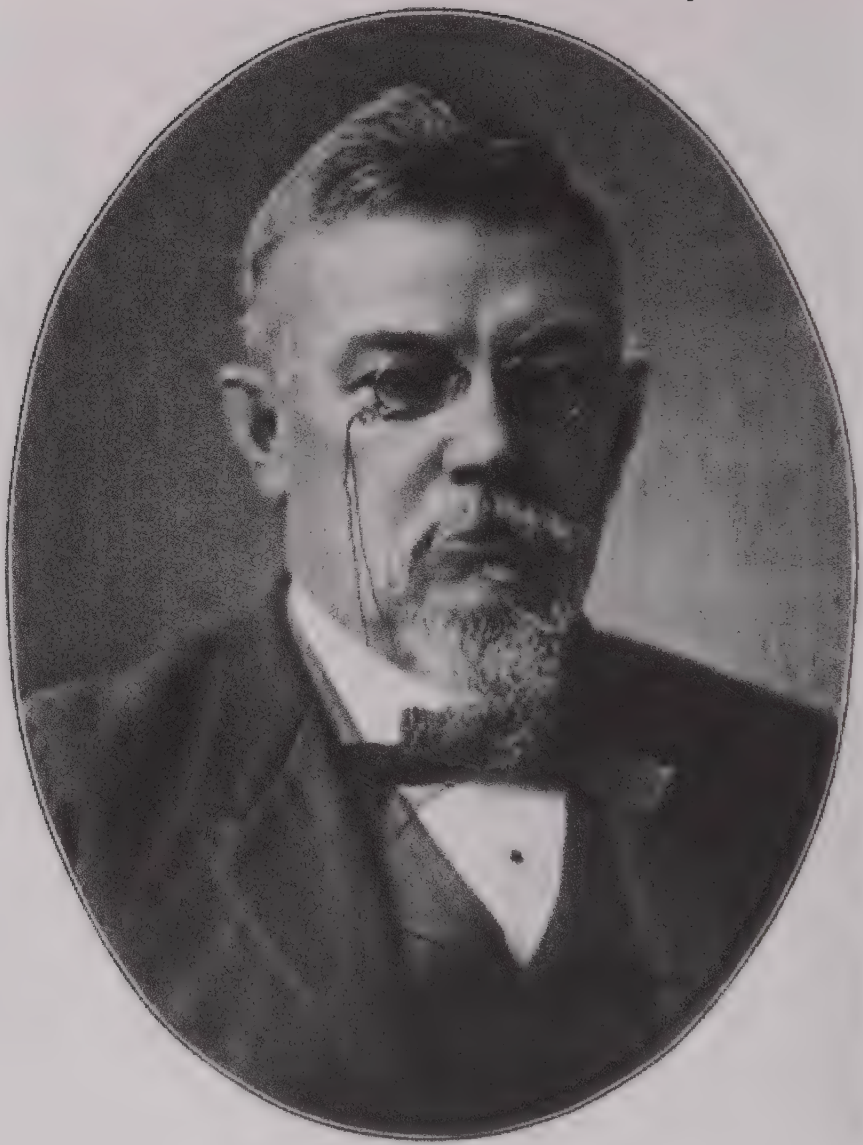
ing *"Jehovah jireh"*—that "God will provide." In an earnest struggle to be free from English influences and English control, the Americans thought it folly to quibble over the trifles of governmental forms until safely established in their independence—hence Washington retained his control over them.

Elbridge Gerry, Roger Sherman, Edmund Randolph, and Franklin's people deliberately and openly despised Washington, called him an incompetent general. Abraham Clark said: "We have no greater cruelty than the management of our army." Jonathan D. Sargent said: "Thousands of lives and millions of property are yearly sacrificed to the inefficiency of our Commander-in-Chief, though we are so attached to this man we shall rather sink with him than throw him off our shoulders." Richard Henry Lee, John Adams, William Williams, James Lovell, Jonathan Trumbull, Samuel Adams, Elaphalet Dyer, William Ellery, Samuel Chase, F. L. Lee, Madison, Jefferson, and even Monroe (who was called the purest, cleanest-lived man who ever graced the President's chair, and who, poor, princely fellow, died in abject poverty and squalor) considered Washington "an idol worshiped by a frenzied people," and Jefferson, who was

honest, and the best friend of popular government America ever knew, declared: "He has done too much good not to be sufficient to cover harm also," and hoped "his political errors may not furnish a second occasion to exclaim, 'curse on his virtues, they've undone his country!' "

The fact is, Washington was too shrewd for the early political managers, being in command of the situation, and he ever held the immovable opinion that *he* was the government; that any attack upon him was a direct reflection on the government. This deluded the people; it was an excellent idealism of monarchical tendency. The State of North Carolina once enjoyed the services of a judge of its Superior Circuit Court, a Mr. Cloud, who became so impressed with his individual importance in the capacity of the "Court" that he carried the custom with him into his private affairs. On one occasion, being seized with a violent fit of vomiting, he rushed out through the court yard, and beholding a number of barristers blockading his exit, gravely shouted, "Gentlemen, get out of the way, or *the Court* will vomit on you." In an equal degree, Washington shrewdly answered his fearless critics with regrets that they should thus interfere with the *government's* sincere efforts, etc. He was the prince of politicians;

a daring man of personal bravery; a fickle flirt with the whims and foibles of public sentiment; a striker of attitudes in the presence of women, and that he died disappointed in not having been king in name as he was in fact by virtue of his military influences, must eventually become the sober opinion of every thoughtful and impartial student of American history.



GOVERNOR SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER

GEORGE WASHINGTON IN PENNSYLVANIA

BY

Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker,
Governor of Pennsylvania.

Are the careers of those men who have seemingly fashioned the institutions of a nation and moulded the destinies of a race the outcome of exceptional capabilities and characteristics not bestowed upon their fellows, or are the results due to the favorable conditions existing at the time the successful efforts were made? Did Alexander of Macedon and Charlemagne found empires through the exercise of their own unusual power of will and gifts of intelligence, or were they but the manifestations of a force which made the Greeks in the one case and the Germans in the other see that if great ends were to be accomplished there must be a subordination of the lesser states surrounding them and a combination of the strength of all—a force

which impelled them forward irresistibly? Is not this a force common to all mankind, which has builded up the British Empire and is even now building up America, indicating itself in the movements of trade and transportation as well as those of government? Would the Reformation have come in its own good time had there been no Martin Luther? Had Napoleon been killed on the bridge of Lodi, would the French Revolution have followed its own appointed channels nevertheless? Is Darwin correct when he attributes even the slow formation of individual and race character to the nature of the environment? Perhaps a safe position to assume would be that in the conduct of revolutions against long-established and seemingly overwhelming power, in the creation and development of new governments, and in the efforts to ameliorate the conditions of the masses of humanity, if success is to be attained, there must be the underlying currents which make it possible, as well as the leader of rare skill and intelligence, possessing the capacity to direct them. If this be true, then it may be of service to call attention, as has never been done before, to the field whereon the achievements of George Washington were accomplished and to the surroundings wherein

his faculties were exercised, if not developed, and the energies of his public career were expended.

In the year 1753 the two most powerful nations of Europe,—England and France,—which had long been enemies and rivals, were again upon the verge of a struggle. The declaration of war was not made until three years later, but the mutterings and rumblings were being heard, the preliminaries were being arranged, and all men knew that the outbreak could not long be postponed. It was a great stake for which the combatants were about to strip, the possession of a continent destined ere long to support a people among the foremost upon the earth. Man proposes, but the gods dispose.

When Wolfe died as he clutched his victory at Quebec, there was weeping and wailing in every household in the American colonies. Little did they who lamented think how different might have been their fate if that energetic spirit, instead of the dilatory Howe, had confronted them at Brandywine, Germantown, and Valley Forge. Never did it occur to either of the contestants while they were pampering the savages and gathering the cannon, nor when they were ready for the

encounter, that no matter which of them should prove the stronger or more valiant, the reward should go to neither; that in the end his most Christian Majesty of France must be obeisant and the King of England must submit to an underling in one of the camps.

The English colonies were along the coast. The French were enclosing them with a series of forts intended to run up the St. Lawrence, thence to the Ohio, and to the mouth of the Mississippi. In a sense it may be said that the right of the French line was at New Orleans, the left at Quebec, and the center at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers where Fort Duquesne was erected in 1754, in the western part of Pennsylvania.

What a series of events had their beginning when George Washington came to Pennsylvania in 1753! The unheeding world might well have listened. A young man in his twenty-second year, of limited education and narrow reading, tall and well made, precise and prim in his methods, stiff in his manners and chirography; with an instinct of thrift which led him to manage farms and raise horses, to seek in his love affairs, whether maid or widow, for a woman "wi lots o' manny laaid by, and a nicetish bit of land," and enabled him to accu-

mulate one of the largest fortunes of his time; but ever a gentleman, whose youth had been devoted to fox-hunting and athletic sports, and who since he was sixteen had been surveying lands in the valleys of Virginia, left the narrow confines of his early associations and took his first step into the outer and larger world.

Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, sent him with a little force of seven men to the French commander in western Pennsylvania to protest against the building of forts and the occupancy of the land. Starting on the 15th of November, 1753, through forests primeval, in the winter, surrounded by and often confronted with the savages, fired at by a treacherous Indian guide, rafting on the partly frozen rivers, he found his way to the site of Pittsburg and to a fort fifteen miles south of Lake Erie. It was a successful journey. He delivered his message and returned on the 16th of January, 1754, to Williamsburg, with the answer of the commandant and with much knowledge of the country and of the armament and garrisons of the forts. As a result he was appointed lieutenant-colonel. At the head of one hundred and fifty men, accompanied by Jacob Van Braam, a Dutchman, one of his former attendants, who at an earlier time had taught him the

drill, he, on April 2, 1754, started again for Pennsylvania. On the 25th he had reached the Great Meadows in the neighborhood of the present Uniontown, in Fayette County. There he learned that a body of the French were in the vicinity. Supported by friendly Indians and led by Scaryooyadi, a Delaware, to the French camp, through the darkness, he made an attack in the early morning. For fifteen minutes the rifles resounded and the balls whistled. Of the provincial troops three were wounded and one was killed. Of the French one was wounded and ten were killed, including Jumonville, their leader, and twenty-one were captured. Only one, a Canadian, escaped.

And so it came about that the opening battle in that struggle of tremendous import, which was to determine that the vast continent of America should belong to the countrymen of Hermann and not to those of Varus, was fought by George Washington upon the soil of Pennsylvania. The victory was won. The prisoners were hurried away to Virginia. But fortune does not extend her favors to any man for long. The career of Washington, like that of most men, was a series of successes and reverses.

"To all earthly men,
In spite of right and wrong and love and hate,
One day shall come the turn of luckless fate."

It was rumored that Contrecoeur was at Fort Duquesne with a force of one thousand French and many Indians, and the young colonel was in trouble. On the 31st he wrote: "We expect every hour to be attacked by a superior force." He threw up entrenchments one hundred feet square and built a palisade with a trench outside, which, because there had been a scarcity of provisions, he called Fort Necessity. The site was along the bank of a little stream flowing through the center of a meadow two hundred and fifty yards wide, set at a considerable elevation among the hills. All that remains now is a slight accumulation of earth where the lines of the fort ran and a large stone with a square cut in it for a corner post, but what there is, ought to be carefully preserved by the State.

He received a reinforcement which increased his strength to three hundred men, and he talked about exerting "our noble courage with spirit." Later there came one hundred more men, from South Carolina. He advanced thirteen miles farther in the direction of Fort Duquesne, and then, learning that the French were strong in

numbers and coming to meet him, he retreated July 1st to Fort Necessity. Thither he was followed by five hundred French and several hundred Indians. All through the day of July 3d the firing was kept up around the fort, those within being huddled together in danger and discomfort, until twelve had been killed and forty-three wounded.

The next morning,—July 4th,—at Philadelphia, Vicksburg, and Gettysburg a fateful day in American history,—Washington, having signed papers of capitulation, marched forth with his troops. He abandoned a large flag and surrendered the fort. He was permitted to take the military stores except the artillery. He agreed to return the prisoners he had captured and sent to Virginia; but worst of all, the papers he signed referred to "l'assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville." Our historians have been prone to throw the blame for this language upon the imperfect translation of Van Braam, but since the French "assassinat" and the English "assassination" are substantially the same word, sufficient to attract the attention of the most unlearned, the explanation fails to satisfy.

The affair, as is apt to be the case when the foe gains the glory and the field, became the

subject of much animadversion. Horace Walpole called him a "brave braggart." Dinwiddie reduced his rank to that of captain, and found reasons for declining to return the prisoners. Thereupon Washington resigned from the service, and went back to Mount Vernon, and his ambition to hold a commission in the English army was never gratified.

The following year Braddock disembarked and encamped his army at Alexandria. Washington offered his services as an aid, and his experience with the French and the Indians and his knowledge of the country wherein the advance was to be made rendered them of the utmost value. It was the first army thoroughly drilled, equipped, and appointed he had ever seen. On that fatal battle-field near Pittsburg, now covered by the mills of the United States Steel Corporation (*tempora mutantur et nos in illis mutamur*), where Braddock was killed, where eight hundred and fifty-five French and Indians completely routed three thousand disciplined English soldiers, he did doughty and valiant deeds. It has been described as "the most extraordinary victory ever obtained and the farthest flight ever made," but in the battle he had two horses killed under him, and out of it he came with four bullet holes through his

coat. There are prophets among other peoples than Israel. Samuel Davies, on the 17th of August, 1755, preached a sermon at Hanover, in Virginia, wherein, with less plaint than Jeremiah and clearer vision than Isaiah, he exclaimed: "That heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country."

Fortune took another turn. For these two defeats there soon came compensation. With a regiment of Virginians in 1758 he took part in the expedition of Gen. John Forbes, whose bones now lie in Christ Churchyard, in Philadelphia, and at the head of his men and the army, on the 25th of November, marched into Fort Duquesne. The magazine had been exploded. The fort had been set on fire. The French had taken bateaux and departed. Their influence along the Ohio River had been broken. The Indians who had been their allies sought the favor of the English. And George Washington had completed the military training which was to fit him to become the successful leader in the eight years' struggle of the people of the American colonies for independence.

He resigned his commission and hastened to Virginia. Six weeks later, on the 6th of Jan-

uary, 1759, he married Martha Custis, a widow, who was the fortunate possessor of a hundred thousand dollars. He was elected to the House of Burgesses, and for the next fifteen years, in the quiet and retirement of Mount Vernon, lived a barren and uneventful life, with no ambition save the pleasure of accumulation; no exhilaration greater than the chase of the fox, and no anxiety except for the care of his herds of cattle. How bare and barren the life was can be seen from these extracts, showing with what his thoughts were occupied, covering a month in his manuscript journal from 1767:

July 14—Finish'd my wheat Harvest.
16—began to cut my Timothy Meadow, which had stood too long.
25—finish'd Ditto.
25—Sowed turnep seed from Colonel Fairfax's, in sheep pens, at the House.
25—Sowed Winter do. from Colo. Lee's in the neck.
27—began to sow wheat at the Mill with the early white Wheat, w'ch grew at Muddyhole.
28—began to sow wheat at Muddyhole with the mixed wheat that grew there; also began to sow wheat at Doag Run, of the red chaff, from home; also sowed summer Turnep below garden.
29—Sowed Colonel Fairfax's kind in flax ground joining sheep pens.

A new epoch dawned, and again George Washington came to Pennsylvania. A crisis big with fatality and freighted with the hopes of the future was approaching. The Stamp Act had been passed, and after a storm of reprobation had been repealed; non-importation resolutions had been promulgated from the Pennsylvania State House, soon to be known as Independence Hall, ringing with a bell which is only torn from it by sacrilege; John Dickinson had written those Farmers' letters wherein was expounded the creed of the colonies; the tea ships had been driven from the Delaware River, and an act of Parliament had closed the port of Boston, when the first Congress was called to meet in Carpenter's Hall, on Chestnut street below Fourth, in the city of Philadelphia, on September 5, 1774.

Washington appeared as a delegate. What part he bore in its deliberations it is difficult to tell. But he wrote to a friend upon the subject of independence: "I am well satisfied that no such thing is desired by any thinking man in all North America." It was a time of stirring events and rapid movements, but men held fast to the old moorings so long as they could. A few months later the muskets began to rattle at

Lexington, and on the 15th of June, 1775, the Second Continental Congress, to which he was delegate, assembled in the State House. One of their first acts was to determine "that a general be appointed to command all the Continental forces raised or to be raised in the defense of American liberty," and by a unanimous vote in that famed Pennsylvania hall the heaviest responsibility which had ever fallen to the lot of an American was imposed upon George Washington. The next day in the same place, declaring: "I feel great distress from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust," and that "no pecuniary compensation could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment," declining the sum which had been fixed for his salary, with modest words and a serious sense of the difficulties he was about to encounter, he assumed that responsibility and started forth, like Moses of old, to lead his people through the Red Sea of war and the wilderness of uncertainty and suffering. Unlike the prophet and law-giver of Israel, and unlike his own prototype, William of Orange, he was destined not only to see from afar, but to enter into the

land of promise and safety. The war upon which he then embarked was to endure through eight dreary years.

Philadelphia was then not only the chief city of the colonies, the center of science, art, and literature, and population, but the seat of the revolutionary government and the place where the Continental Congresses held their sessions. It was believed by the revolutionists that the retention of the possession of the city was essential to the success of their cause. The Royalists believed that if it could be captured the war would be speedily terminated and the rebellion end in an early dissolution. A few opening and indecisive contests of arms occurred in Massachusetts, but the struggle ere long drifted to the shores of the Delaware, and the Continental army never thereafter was farther east than the Hudson. In the course of the war nine battles were fought by the army under personal command of Washington, and with the exception of Long Island, which was an unrelieved disaster, and Yorktown, where it was uncertain whether the laurels ought to cluster about the French fleet or the American land forces, all of them—Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Warren Tavern, Germantown,

Whitemarsh, and Monmouth—were conflicts the purpose of which was to control or defend, to secure or retain, the city of Philadelphia.

At Brandywine there was presented to him the great opportunity of his military career, when the enemy, of their own motion, brought about the situation which it was the object of the tactics of Napoleon to secure, and divided their forces in front of him. At Warren Tavern his plans were thwarted and his opportunities and advantages lost through what the lawyer calls the act of God. At Trenton and Germantown he displayed not only the courage and resolution bred in his Saxon fibre, but that other quality more often found in the Celt, "*laudace toujours laudace.*" At Whitemarsh he boldly approached within a few miles of the enemy, who then held the city; defeated attacks upon his right, left, and center, compelling Howe to withdraw, discomfited, and won, though with small loss, his greatest tactical success.

The issues of the Revolutionary War were determined, however, not by the effective handling of large armies with consummate skill, not by the exercise of that military genius which enabled a Marlborough, a Frederick, or a Bonaparte to see just when and where to strike to the best advantage, but by that tireless

tenacity of purpose which, through success or disaster, never flagged and, whatever fate might have in store, refused to be overcome. All the poets who have sung their verse, all the historians who have written their books, whatever students may have investigated, and whatever orators may have spoken, agree in the conclusion that such tenacity was best exemplified at the close of the lost campaign, with a weakened and dwindling army, through the sufferings of a severe winter upon the hills of Valley Forge.

Wherever the story is read, wherever the tale is told, the pluck and persistence, amid misfortune and disheartening want, exhibited at this Pennsylvania hamlet along the banks of the Schuylkill, have come to be the type and symbol of the Revolutionary War and to represent the supreme effort and the unconquerable fortitude of the American soldier.

In a German almanac printed in the town of Lancaster in the latter part of the year 1778 Washington was first called "the Father of His Country." It was at once a truthful and a prophetic designation, in accord with passing and coming events, and soon accepted by all of the people. At the close of the war he returned to Mount Vernon to his negroes, corn, and tobacco, to his horses and his hounds, the latter

a present from Lafayette; again became, in the language of the Rev. Thomas Coke, "quite the plain country gentleman," and, if we may rely upon the journal of John Hunter, he "sent the bottle about pretty freely after dinner" and "got quite merry."

The war would have been an utter failure if it had only resulted in a severance of the ties which connected us with Great Britain, and if it had left the colonies discordant, jealous, and each pursuing its own selfish interests under the ineffective government established by the Articles of Confederation. The work of destruction had been successful and complete, but the constructive and more difficult task of welding the discordant elements together into a vital and effective organism remained. All of the South American States succeeded in throwing off the control of Spain, and even Hayti became independent, but what gift to mankind has come of it? Upon the sea of human affairs a nation was to be launched, with the prospect of large proportions and unlimited growth, and again George Washington came to Pennsylvania. In the definite movement leading up to the formation of the Government of the United States of America as we know it to-day, no New England State had any

participation. Delegates from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia met at Annapolis, in the State of Maryland, on the 11th of September, in 1786, and, after a consultation, urged the necessity of a revision of the existing system, and recommended the calling of a convention, with sufficient power, to meet in Philadelphia on the second Monday of May in 1787.

Emerson has well said that "all martyrdoms looked mean when they were suffered," and that "when the gods come among men they are not known." He might have added that the importance of the supreme events in the advancement of the human race has seldom been recognized by contemporaries. Even Shakespeare died without any conception of what he had achieved and without any foretaste of his future fame.

At the State House, on May 14, 1787, at the opening of the convention, delegates appeared only from Virginia and Pennsylvania. Eleven days later Washington was elected to preside by the votes of these States and those of Delaware and New Jersey, and at the end of two weeks no others were yet represented. What the members kept steadily in view throughout all of their deliberations, according to Wash-

ington, was "the consolidation of our Union." Of how they succeeded the world has no need to be told. From that box, drawn as it were by unwitting fishermen out of the sea of uncertainties and perplexities, came forth a genie whose stride is from ocean to ocean, whose locks, shaken upon one side by Eurus, on the other by Zephyr, darken the skies and whose voice is heard in far Cathay and beyond Ultima Thule. There was difficulty about the adoption of the Constitution. Opposition was manifested everywhere; on the part of men like Patrick Henry, of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, it was decided, and in some instances intense. One of the New England States held aloof for three years. But in three months, on the 1st of January, 1788, Washington was able to write: "Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey have already decided in its favor." After the voice of this State had been heard and its great influence had been exerted, the result was no longer doubtful, and he cheerfully continued: "There is the greatest prospect of its being adopted by the people."

After having been elected President of the nation he had done so much to create, he spent the whole of his two terms, with the exception of a year in New York, in the city of Philadel-

phia. For ten years this patriotic city, without compensation of any kind, furnished a home to the Government of the United States. The building at the southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets was given up to the use of the Senate and House and became Congress Hall. The Supreme Court met in the building at the southwest corner of Fifth and Chestnut streets.

For seven years Washington lived in a large double brick building on the south side of Market street, sixty feet east of Sixth, which had been the headquarters of Howe. To the east was a yard with shade trees, and along the front of this yard ran a brick wall seven feet high. Next door to him dwelt a hairdresser. All of the important events of his administration—the establishment of the mint; the wars conducted by St. Clair, Harmar, and Wayne against the Indians; the Whiskey insurrection, which took him through Carlisle again to western Pennsylvania, after a long absence; the troubles over Genet and Jay's treaty with Great Britain—occurred during his residence here. He had a pew in Christ Church. He became a member of the American Philosophical Society, and was present at its services upon the deaths of Benjamin Franklin and David

Rittenhouse. He attended the theatre in Southwark, seeing the play, "The Young Quaker, or the Fair Philadelphian," and Rickett's Circus, and he took part in the dancing assemblies.

He and Governor Mifflin saw the Frenchman Blanchard make the first balloon ascension in America, January 9, 1793, amid much tumult and eclat. Blanchard was described as *"Impavidus sortem non timet Icariam."* The magistrates of the city gave him the use of the courtyard of the prison, and the roar of the artillery announced to the people the moment of departure. Washington placed in his hands a passport, which, with a pleasing uncertainty befitting the occasion, was directed "to all to whom these presents shall come," and authorized him "to pass in such direction and to descend in such place as circumstances may render most convenient." He started at nine minutes after ten, on a clear morning, sailed over the Delaware, and frightened a flock of pigeons and a Jersey farmer near Gloucester, where he landed. He prevailed upon the latter to come to his help by the offer of one of the six bottles of wine with which Dr. Caspar Wistar had provided him. Jonathan Penrose, Robert Wharton, and six other Philadelphians

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